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SCOTT AND THE VETERAN. BY BAYARD TATIOR.

An old and crippled veteran to the War Department came. He sought the Chief who led him, on many a field of fame— The Chief who shooted "Forward!" where'er, his banner re And here its stars in triumph behind the flying foes.

Office you forgotten, General," the hattered soldier cried.

The days of eighteen hundred twelve, when I was at you Have you forgotten Johnson, that fought at Lundy's Lane The true I'm old and pensioned, but I want to fight up

\* Have I forgotten I" said the Chief: "my brave old soldier

No! And here's the hand I gave you then, and let it tell you so But you have done your share, my friend; you're crippled old and gray.

And we have need of younger arms and fresher blood to-day."

But, General!" cried the veteran, a flush upon his brow; The very men who fought with use they say, are traffers now.

They've forn the fing of Lundy's Lane, our old red, white and

And while a drop of blood is left, I'll show that drop is true.

"Pm not so weak but I can strike, and I've a good old gun To get the range of traiters' hearts, and prick them, one by one.

Your Minist rifes and such arms it sin't worth while to try:

beouldn't get the hang of them, but I'll keep my powder dry:"

God bless you, comrade!" said the Chief- God bless you loyal heart?
But younger men are in the field, and claim to have their part.

They'll plant our secred banner in each redellions town, And wee, henceforth, to any hand, that dares to pull it down!" vit.

\*But, General."—still persisting, the weeping veteran cried:

"I'm young enough to follow, so long as you're my guide:
And some, you know, must bite the dust, and that, at least can 1;

So, give the young ones place to right, but me a place to a

"If they should fire on Pickens, let the Colon-1 in command Put me upon the rampart, with the figs staff in my hand: No odds how hot the cannon-smoke, or how the shells may fly, WE hold the Stars and Stripes aloft, and hold them till I die

Tm ready. General, so you let a post to me be given Where Washington can see me, as he looks from highest Heaven, And say to Petnam at his side, or, may be, General Wayne: There stands old Billy Johnson, that fought at Lundy's Lane!

"And when the fight is hottest, before the traitors fig. When shell and ball are screeching, and bursting in the sky, M any shot should his me, and lay me on my face,
My coul would go to Washington, and not to Arnold's place!"
Moy 13, 1861.

[The Independent.]

ELMER E. ELLLSWORTH.

Died May 24, 1861.

WEEP, weep, Columbia! Death with traiterous hand

Weep, weep, Columbia! Death with traitorous has Has slain a Hero, quenched a manly flame, Coast heartfelt serrow o er a throbbing land, And carved, for future years to read, a name On the grand altar of our country's fame.

Strew roses o'er his corpse—a Soldier's vow He took—a Soldier's pall enwraps him now; At Glory's por all Death's red summons came.

Chart, O ye Land, the Soldier's burial hymn
O'er Ellsworth's bier; and as ye sadly turn, With falt'ring voice, and eyes with tear-drops dim, Swear ye that Retribution's torch may burn In every breast! A martyr's youthful blood
Cements your oath. Sirike! for your cause is good

mourn, slas! thy hapless fate! And yet 't was glorious thus to die; Thine eye with victory's glesm elais, And Freedom's banner floating high

The hand the rebel fing had torn From off its planuacle of pride And we, alse! can only mourn That one so young, so brave, has died For now thy noble hopes are crushed,

Thy glowing dream of conquest o'er; The pulses of thy being husbed Amid the coming battle's re Yet we will still remember thee,

And round thy pallid brow still spread Sweet garlands, to thy memory, Thou first among our glorious dead! Trey, N. Y., May 24.

## THE LESSON OF ST. DOMINGO.

As the war now raging on this Continent involved scarly the same elements that entered into the revolutionary history of the French part of the Island of St. Domingo, the teachings of that history are unspeakably important to our Government at this moment. Though the St. Domingo crucible was smaller, and the chemical ingredients perhaps a little more concentrated, the result of that experiment must in the main determine that of our grander one, except so far as we have the wisdom to modify it by varying the manipulations. No existing example of African Slavery, as the basis of a European civilization, is probably quite so old as was that of St. Domingo at the time of its annihilation. and none seems, on the whole, so well fortified against change. Its was the first decisive encounter of the social forces that belong to such a state of society wherever it exists, and now that these forces have sudden! rushed into conflict here, if we are wise, we shall dis card vague traditions, that may be traced back to refugee planters who threw themselves on our hospitality under Galband, in 1793, and verify, before believing. the histories that attribute all the "horrors" to philanthrophy acting on slaves, and recognize nothing but

ruin as the result. The best sources of information in regard to the revolutionary history of St. Domingo, being French, are the least accessible. Bryan Edwards, and Rainsford, the principal English writers, deal out most of the facts that concern us at second hand, with English glosses of their own, and warped to suit an intensely Pro-Slavery philosophy. The details of white French eye-witnesses, such as Gen. Pamphile Lacroix, and Col. Malenfant, whose prejodices, if they had any, were not in favor of the negro, give a wholly different view of the case. The daylight which is let in by sumshine of a consistent and natural story in the work of Victor Schoelcher, published in Paris in 1843, and still more, if possible, in the much fuller history of B. Ardonin, Paris, 1855, in which every important statement is verified by ample quotations from the original documents. After a careful study of these authorities, we present, as briefly as possible, an unvarnished tale of the period which is parallel to our own present crisis, and shall call particular attention to me of its points. The pride and prejudice of race and color may be great luxuries, but St. Domingo can

seach us what they cost. The French Revolution of 1789 found the population of the Colony of St. Domingo consisting of three classes. First, there were about" 452,000 negro slaves, chattels, whose lives were held cheap because they could easily be replaced from Africa. Second, about 10,000 whites, divided into planters and petits blancs or poor whites. All whites, of pure blood, who did not own more than twenty claves, were reckoned poor or little. Third, 28,000 mulattors, or men of mixed blood, in whatever proportions. Their blood was con-sidered tainted, and, though free, they had no equality with white men in the eye of the law, which carried their disabilities to such an extent that one who pre sumed to strike a white of any condition was punis by having his right hand cut off. Yet not a few of them were rich and well educated, the class baving possession of one-third of the real estate of the colony, d one-fourth of the personal, including slaves. To this class belonged a few freed Africans, who were not more contemned by the whites than were the lightest mulattoes. The prejudice against color seemed to have

For many years prior to 1789, the colonists, especially of the white proprietor class, had been aching to throw off the yoke of the mother country, and, as an

a strength inversely proportionate to the difference of

color between the parties.

independent eligarchy, to make their own laws, and administer their own affairs. Hence, on the breaking out of the revolution in France, they at once seized the occasion to carry out their views, and established three provincial assemblies, the colony being divided into three provinces, distinguished as the North, West, and South, which in a little time pominated delegates to a general Colonial Convention, to meet at St. Ma.c. Thus the white slaveholders initiated the insular revolution. The mulattore, however, were not uninterested nor without hope, from what was going on in France, that they would share the blessings of political reform. The spirit of the white planters was soon manifested to be very different from that of the revolutionists in the mother country. The latter, by a decree of the National Assembly, March 8, 1787, had in favor of mulattoes expresely accorded political privileges to all free persons over twenty-five years of age, who were proprietors in the colonies. And they had also, in an abstract way, August 20, 1789, declared that "all men are born, and continue, free and equal as to their rights. But neither of these decrees having yet reached the colony in an official form, on the 2d of November, 1789, Lacombe, a mulatto, in a written petition addressed so one of the aforesaid provincial assemblies of white planters, requested that his class might enjoy the benefit of this declaration of the rights of man, and he represented in the assembly. They voted his petition beendary, and hung him! This was the first victim and the first "horror." Seventeen days after, Perrand de Beaudiere, a white man, of seventy years, who held an inferior judicial office, for the crime of drawing up for some colored men a memorial similar to that of Lacombe, was lynched and decapitated. This was the second victim and the second "horror." The convention at St. Mure proceeded at once to set at defiance the special decree of the National Convention in favor of the free men of the colonies, which had now resched the colony officially, and went further to declare themselves independent of the mother country, and to assert that they acted by the authority of their constituents, and not of the National Assembly. More than that, they proceeded to seize the magazine at Leagure. The Governor, Peynier, could not tolerate these usurpations, and there resulted two governments. The national guard was divided. part serving the Governor and part the Planters' Assembly of St. Marc. The latter stuck red pompons on their care, the former adhered to the white, and the two factions took the names of pompons rouge and pompons blancs from this circumstance. The Planters' Assembly called the Governor to their bar to give an account of himself. He came and pronounced their dissolution, ordering Colonel Manduit to disperse them, which he did after an obstinate resistance and the lose of fifteen men, carrying off the flag of the pompons rouge. The desperato planters then offered to arm the free colored men, but on terms so degrading that they were not accepted. The mulattees preferred to serve the side of the mother country, as had also the petits blance and most of the

ceived, and took a neutral position. The revolutionary quarrel between the pure whites continued to the 23d October, 1790, without any active interference from the free colored class, or any sign of interest on the part of the slaves. At the latter date, Vincent Ogé, a young mulatto who had been residing in France for his education, landed furtively at the Cape, without troops or arms. He put himself at the head of two or three hundred of his class in arms, and made a modest demand upon the Planters' Assembly of the North of the legal rights of his class. In this address he took care to say, " I shall not have recourse to any raising of the slave gange;" " I never comprehended in my claims the negroes in a state of Slavery;" and "Our adversaries are not merely unjust to us, but to themselves, for they do not seem to know that their interests are one with ours." The planters gave him very little time to concentrate the strength that belonged to his cause. They rushed on him with an overwhelming force, and drove all whom they did not slay into the apanish part of the island. The refugees were given up by the Spanish Governor, who only asked the cross of St. Louis as the reward of his treachery! The punishment of these modest mulattocs is worthy of particular mention, since, of all the horrors afterward perpetrated by colored or black man, there was none exceed it, and there had been nothing on the part of the colored or black men to provoke it. Of the prisoners, the white Assembly formally condemned thirteen to the galleys, twenty-two to be gibbeted, and two-Ogé, and his lieutenant, Chavannes-to have their arms, legs, thighs, and hips broken alive on the wheel, upon a scaffold, and then to live in their torments with their faces toward Heaven, in presence of all beholders, as long as God should spare their lives. The white Assembly attended in a body to witness the spectacle, and the heads of the victims, after their death, were paraded on poles and made as public as possible. This

professional men. They offered to bear arms under the

Governor, but here the prejudice of color came in, and

they could not be allowed to wear the white pompon of

the French service, but must be distinguished by a yel-

low one. They returned the arms they had already re-

In the meantime the French National Assembly had approved the stand taken by the colonial governor, and ered two buttalions of troops to be sent to his aid. Unfortunately, the partisans of the Assembly of St. Marc, who in great numbers had been driven to France the governor, found an opportunity to corrupt the troops, while they were in the harbor of Brest. So when they landed in St. Domingo, in spite of Blanchelaude, Peyniers's successor, they took part with the planters, and mounted the pompon rouge. The planters nanaged also to seduce the members of Col. Man-luit's regiment, and to attract by their gold and their ndescension the petits blancs, and, like our present ecessionists, they raised, an army of white vagabonds, whom they supported by levying heavy taxes. A planter by the name of Boré, who wrote on the troubles of the time, complains that he had to pay a tax of two thousand lieres, though he owned but twenty-one slaves. The consequence of all this was, that the Pro-visional Assembly of the West resumed its sittings, and alled on Col. Manduit to restore the flag which he carried off when he dispersed them. Mauduit, having a means of resistance, started at the head of his demo alized regiment, on the 4th of March, 1791, to restore the flag. On the way he was not only assailed and sacred by the white mob mixed with French and olonial soldiers, but his corpse was backed in pieces and born in triumph into the city. Among the mutila-tors was said to be Madame Martin, a white lady, who fterwards enjoyed the hospitality of the United Sta

vas on the 25th of February, 1791.

The power of the mother country in the colony died time, with Manduit. Blanchelande became a fugitive, and a rich planter, named Caradeux, a monster of cruelty not surpassed by any of the black nee in the succeeding years, became ruler of the colony and Captain-General of the National Guard, in there could be said to be any ruling where all was anarchy. Such a power, of course, did not stand firmly. The petits blancs, though now acting under he slaveholders, were clamorous for their own rights, and had actually murdered two rich planters, who were obnoxious to them, and carried about their heads on poles. The rich mulattees were talking between their teeth about their political rights, and in fact entering into a deep conspiracy in the neighborhood of Port-au-Prince. Some of the white planters, especially near the Cape, were still anti-revolutionary, as vished to restore Blanchelande and adhere to their liegiance to France. It is said that they began to talk about using their human chattels in a military way to promote their political purposes, and that this sort of conversation falling on the ears of Toussaint, a confidential slave, the coachman of M. Bayon de Libertas, was the spark which kindled the first servile insurrec-Whether or not the planters did have any such communication, as is asserted, with Toussaint Boukman, Jean Francois, Jeannot Bullet, and Biasson certain it is that those slaves made a pretty extensive

conspiracy to assert their own liberty, and considering

their own alender means and slight knowledge, and

the utter ignorance of the masses on which they operated, they did it with wonderful adroitness. Whether they had seen the "glittering generality," put forth by the National Assembly two years before, not known, but they professed to have a decree for their general liberation, which they caused to be read in their assembly by a young mulatto pressed into that service. They carefully arranged their conspiracy, sapetifying it, as it is said, with religious ceremonies parely African and partly Christian. The succifice of a black pig was the African part, and for the Christian part a hymn in the pascis of the negroes is on record, the sentiment of which would certainly do no discredit to King David or Dr. Watts.

Though it was with the utmost difficulty that the few leading negroes above-named persuaded their brethren to commit themselves to an insurrection, when committed, they were too eager, and by mistaking the instructions, some of them commenced several hours too early. This put the whites on their guard. Nevertheless, on the dawn of August 23, 1791, as had been agreed, a very extensive revolt took place in the eighborhood of Cape Francois, which resulted in the el-ughter of 2,000 whites and mulattocs on one side, and about 10,000 blacks on the other. It was led bravely by Boukman, who was slain fighting, after which his followers fled before the National Guard, and were butchered like sheep. Before they were checked, the blacks showed in what school they had studied their lesson, by sticking upon poles the heads of three bundred whites, at the very spot where the whites had stuck up the heads of Ogé and Chavannes. Yet it is credibly related that one of the insurgent slaves by the name of Barthelo, in the midst of the carnage, at the risk of his own life, bore his master, one Mongin, to a place of safety. After the insurrec tion was crushed, Bartholo was condemned to death on the information of the very (white) man whose life

he saved. Ail classes of whites and mulattoes joined in suppressing this insurrection, and pushed their advantage of science and arms so far that they over-did it. By their wholesale slaughter of slaves who had no part in the conspiracy, they widely roused the black population in all quarters, and pressed thousands of them to fly to the mountains, where they were organized in bands under Jean Francois, Binssou, and other chiefs, who soon learned how to direct their energies effi-

After their common peril was absted, the whites and nulattoes at once fell into a bloodier quarrel than before. The whites swore they would not yield an iota of privilege to the "bastard race." The mulattees armed to take their legal rights by force, and this time they fought so prosperously that their antagonists were humbled and obliged to make a treaty of peace, in which they acknowledged that the execution of Ogé was a crime, and awarded to the mulattoes all the rights they claimed.

In this last passage at arms, known as the battle of Croix-des-Bouquets, both the white and mulatto planters employed as auxiliaries armed slaves, who chaved with great valor on both sides. These anxliaries were called Swiss, and, in making the treaty of peace, the white planters contended that these men having become used to freedom, it would not be safe to send them back to the plantations, or to suffer them to eemain in the colony, to which the mulattoes, in spite of their kinship, agreed. So it was stipulated that they should be colonized (without wives or families) to Honduras, with agricultural implements and provisions for three months. They were put on board a ship to the number of 300, and commissioners to superintend their settlement were appointed to go with them. The commissioners, however, probably by the contrivance the whites, sailed in another vessel, and the two ves sels were separated the first night. The captain who had the Swiss for passengers proceeded to Jamaics and offered them all for sale. The remonstrance of the victims spoiled their market; the inhuman wretch then put to sea, and landed them on a desert key with scanty provisions. Before they were quite starved a passing versel reported their case to the English Admiral at Port Royal, and he had them conveyed back to St. Domingo. The Colonial Assembly received them. and put them in irons on board a vessel in the harbor of St. Nicholas Mole. They had not been there long before assassins were sent on board, who, shutting the captain in his cabin, selected 60 of the strongest of the Swiss, knocked them on the head, and threw them overboard. The rest were left in their chains, as victims to a postilential disease, which is said to have been purposely communicated, and all but 20 or 30

The peace so sealed with blood was soon broken. The whites again spurned the mulattees, and invited the Governor of Jamsics to seize the colony for the English. He refused this time, to accept by and by, chiefs in the mountains somewhat strengthened themselves. A set of civil commissioners was sent from France to make peace, but effected nothing. The city of Port-au-Prince was half burned in a savage quar-rel that grew out of a personal fight between a free black and a white soldier, and the whites, to satisfy their revenge on the mulairnes, to whom they attribnted the mischief, committed an awful massacre on their wives and children. The loss of property at Port-au-Prince in a single day is estimated by Lacroix at fifty millions francs. The mulattoes, aided by the rave young negro, Hyscinth, and a band of revolted elaves, took a terrible vengeance again at the Croixdes-Bouqueta.

It was in this state of things that, in September, 1732, a new set of civil commissioners, Sonthonax, Polyerel and Aithaud, arrived at the Cape. They had eft France just before the dethronement of Louis XVI., were accompanied by 6,000 troops, which, added to those already in the island, would make their force about 14,000, and had the amplest legal powers. Up to their appointment, the authorities sent from France o the colony had been satisfactory to the Club Massac; that is, decidedly Pro-Slavery. But these commissioners were Girondists, and in favor with the Amis des Noirs, who were theoretically opposed to Slavery. This gave the alarm to the Massiac Club, which took insmediate measures to invite the English and deliver the colony o them. The instructions of the commissioners, nowever, confined them to the enforcement of the laws, specially including that for securing politi-cal equality to free men of all colors, and enjoined upon them "the repression of the seditions povements of the slave-gange." There was not the slightest squinting toward emancipation in any circum stances. The French Government, in fact, as represented in these instructions, maintained toward Slavery in the colony precisely the same policy as that now maintained by our Federal Administration toward Slavery in the disturbed States. And the Commission ers, of whom Polverel and Sonthonax were distinguished French lawyers, like Gen. Butler, at once offered their services to suppress servile insurrection. More than that, they indignantly repelled the accusa tion of the Club Massiac that they were going to emancipate slaves, and conceded that no power but the colonial assembly could act in regard to the slaves. Polyerel declared that if the National Assembly were o legislate any change whatever in the condition of their "moveable property," he would abdicate his mission on the spot; and Sonthonax and Ailhand went further to say, or rather to swear, if the National As-sembly should ever become so fanatical as to propounce the abolition of Slavery, they would oppose it with all their might.

These Commissioners, in their opening proclamation ommenced with these words: "Invariably attached to the laws, we come to see them executed; we declare in the name of the mother country, of the National As-sembly and of the King, that we shall henceforward recognize but two classes of men in the colony of St. Domingo—the free, without any distinction of color, and the slavea." They accordingly received into their army the troops of mixed blood, suppressed the pom-pone rouges and Cardeux, and made themselves particularly active everywhere in recapturing and subju-gating the revolted slaces. Some of this work, too, was quoting from the then most recent French declaration

horribly bloody. They filled the prisons of Cape Fran cois with recovered runaways, to the number of 400 or 500! This splendid slave-hunting, this sublime soundness on the goose," however, did not satisfy all the white planters. Some of them were so turbulent that the Civil Commissioners were obliged to put them on board the ficet, along with the corrupted troops that had helped murder Col. Manduit, to be sent to France. Just at this crisis, the malcontents were rejoiced at the arrival of Gen. Gaulland from France, a planter of the colony, of the pompon rouge party, who had got himself appointed governor in the clace of Blanchelande. It was falsely supposed that his power was superior to that of the Commissioners. But the latter soon obliged him to confess that he had obtained his office in contravention of a law that forbade any man to be governor who owned an estate in the colony, by concealing the fact. He, too, was sent to the fleet to be conveyed to France. But while the fleet was lying in the harbor, a quarrel occurred between a white naval officer and a mulatte on the quay. The officer called on the commissioners to punsh the mulatto, who refused to do it without a fair hearing of the case. This was seized upon by Galband and the gentlemen and lady planters on board the ficet, as the mesos of rousing the sailors and soldiers on board to vengeance, and Galbaud's brother, at the head of two or three thousand armed men, landed and attacked the Commissioners in the government palace. Their whole available force for defense, including regulars, mulatoes, and a few free blacks, scarcely amounted to five hundred. These defended them bravely through the first day, and drove the sailors back to the ships but achieved little hope for the certain contest of the next day. The brains of the two lawyers, under the awful pressure of circumstances which they could no longer control, during that night produced a dispatch or circular to the revolted negro chiefs, then hovering in the vicinity, in which we see the first gleam of good sense that appear in their conduct. They began with these remarkable words: We declare that it is the will of the French Repubhe and that of its delegates, to give liberty to all the negro warriors who will fight for the Republic, under the orders of the civil commissioners," &c. They proceeded to promise the alleviation of slavery, and final emancipation to other slaves who would continue to work and behave well, and added, "All the slaves who shall be declared free by the delegates, shall be the equals of the white men, and those of all other colors. They shall enjoy all the rights per aining to

French citizens." Having dispatched this call for aid, the Commissioners awaited the attack, which was resumed with still greater force, under Galband in person, at daybreak. By II o'clock the Commissioners were obliged to retire to a stronghold in the suburbs, and Galbaud remained master of the palace. The thousands of sailors, not content with this victory, commenced plundering the rity. The wine-vaults falling first in their way put them in a condition fit for havoc, and the pillage was soon turned into an indiscriminate slaughter. was soon added to this a horrible fact, which illustrates the wisdom of the costly operations for reducing the revolted slaves. The prisons were opened, and the hundreds of captives, maddened by a sense of wrong, were let loose on the scene. Who did it no one knew: some attributed it to the city slaves, and some to the Commissioners, who in their report denied it. The released prisoners joined the sailors in their bloody work, as did many of the city slaves. Others nobly endeavored to save the families of their masters. The negro chiefs, who had been, as we have seen, invited n under the direction of the Commissioners and the mulatto officers, drove off the sailors and plundering blacks, rescued many white citizens, and aided in saving a large amount of property. Galbaud and many of the white planters escaped to the fleet, not a few being drowned in their baste to embark. A large part of perhaps the richest city of its rize in the world was laid in ashes. Lacroix says the day's work cost a

handred million of francs. It was a very sharp corner which the representatives of the grandest power in Europe turned on that occation. A few weeks before they had been chasing fugitive slaves with their army, scattered for that purpose in all quarters, and cutting off the ears, and branding the left shoulders of all they could catch, with the letter M. (marron), as a peace offering to propitive the slaveholders; now they are reporting to their government that "the new citizens (the slaves) have showed an unheard-of courage and intrepidity; in the midst of murder, carnage, and fire, they gave their ancient tyrants an example of humanity, thropy. While one part of these men was fighting the salors, the other was occupied in patroling the streets, gathering the frightened whites and conveying them. protected from insults, into the camp of the civil comvisions." This was the compliment they were obliged to pay to the revolted black slaves, who at their request saved their lives from the very slave masters whose humble hounds they had made themselves. Bryan Edwards says they invited in these revolted negro chiefs by promising them their liberty and the plunder of the city. Unfortunately for that assertion we have the proclamation on which they came, which promises nothing but liberty and citizenship, and the testimony f both white and mulatto slaveholders that their con-

duct was most exemplary.

After his remarkable repulse, Galbaud, with a large part of the fleet, sailed for the United States, carrying vita him a great number of white planters, who had been the greatest peets of the colony. The commissloners had dispersed and nearly used up their army in the work of putting down anti-revolutionary white cabals on one side and negro revolts on the other. They were threatened with invasion from the Spanish part of the island and from England. On the 10th of July 1793, they wante to the national assembly, giving a report of the above events at the Cape. "Such citizen representatives, is the disastrous position in which Galbaud has left us in the province of the North. Without a navy, without money, without the means of procuring any, and with provisions for only one month, ret we do not despair of the safety of the country. We re going on; we do not ask of you ships nor sailors; it is with the natives of the country, that is, the Afri cans, that we shall save to France the property of St.

Thus had it been beaten into their politic heads that better use could be made of the half million black people, overwhom the fifty thousand white and yellow retended proprietors had been fighting, than cutting off their ears, printing M's on their skins with hot iron and keeping them subservient chattels to the said Many of the more moderate and reasonable white

weholders began to be of the same opinion. The tional Assembly had so enlarged the powers of the ivil Commissioners that they could act on the question of Slavery, according to their own interpretation of their instructions, if it became necessary. But almost mmediately after the troubles of the Cape, before they could act in concert, they were obliged to sepa-rate, Polverel going to the West. There he found the Spaniards exerting such an influence on the revolted slaves, that without waiting for the concurrence of Sonthonax (Ailhaud had returned to France) he issued proclamation on the 27th August, 1793, giving not uly liberty to all revolted slaves who would return to labor, but, by a sort of agrarian law, dividing among them the estates of planters that had become eacant. The same provision was made for slaves who had borne or should bear arms for the Republic, and ultimate liberty and landed provision was pro to all other slaves. This action was confined to the province of the West, but encouragment was given hat it should soon be extended to the other provinces. Equally without concert, the younger and more radical athonax, on the 29th of August, proclaimed his decree of emancipation for the province of the North, His decree gave universal liberty, but made no landed provision. It provided a detailed plan for securing

of buman rights, commenced thus: " Men are born and continue free and equal in their rights; such, citizens, is the gospel of France; it is more than time it were proclaimed in all the departments of the Repub-lic." It then proceeds to state, what the Commissioners had before publicly and solemnly denied, that the commission was sent not only to secure the equality of the free, but to prepare gradually for the enfranchisement of the slaves, and to plead the most funny and ingenious excuses for having sustained Slavery, as we have seen they did. The emanicapation was afterward made universal in the West, and com-

the South, October 31, 1793. After the last chain was broken there were no "borrots," except those which necessarily arose from the English invasion invited by the rebel planters. The planters who remained in the colony, faithful to France, found no difficulty in carrying on their plantations prosperously with the hired labor of their former slaves. After two months' trial of freedom in the North and West, Polverel, the distinguished veteran, cool and sagacious Parisian lawyer, bas these remarkable words in his above-mentioned proclamation of liberty for the

pleted by a proclamation of Polverel in the province of

"Two years of war against the insurgent Africant "Two years of war against the insurgent Africans had convinced the proprietors that it was thenceforth impossible to maintain slavery. Their works were described, their houses and their plautations were burned and haif waste. France poured out men and money; and while her armies were annihilated in St. Domingo, and while her armies were annihilated in St. Domingo, those of the Africane were recruited every day by new descritions from the clave-gangs. The colonist despaired of ever seeing his land restored to value, because he

of ever seeing his land restored to value, because he knew of no culture but that of slaves.

"The delegates of the Republic presented to the Africans the idea and hope of general liberty, a certainty of a living to the warriors, and a share in the produce to the cultivators; this word sufficed to create soldiers for the Republic, to reëstablish order, to re-people the workshops and reanimate industry. The proprietors, astonished at this producy for such it was to them), voluntarily, and win a spirit of generous rivalry, gave liberty to the Africans who had till then been under their control. They even entreated the civil commission to hasten as much as possible the declaration of general liberty, and the publication of the regulations which the new order of things demanded."

Just after this, the British Government, that never does things by the halves, landed an invading army.

does things by the halves, landed an invading army. The effort to make St. Domingo a British colony continued about five years, cost Great Britain about one hundred millions of dollars, and forty-five thousand lives, and finally she had the honor of being expelled from the island by black and mulatto troops under a pure black general-in-chief.

Under that chief, the born statesman who probably planned the first slave insurrection, of August 23, 1791, the colony was saced to France. Under his wise, though rather despotic civil administration from 1796 to 1802, the colony, to use the language of the French General Lacroix, "marched as if by enchantment toward its ancient splendor." Though the laboring population by the slaughters and famines of war had been reduced to less than four hundred thousand, and the productive capital, other than land, had been mainly annihilated, the exports of one of Toussaint's best years compare with those of a year in the palmiest period of Slavery, in regard to three principal items,

 
 Under Slavery.
 Under Toussaint.

 Sugar.
 .145,162,043 fb
 53,460,069 fb

 Coffee
 11,663,187 fb
 34,770,030 fb

 Cotton
 6,690,858 fb
 4,050,666 fb
 This is pretty well for a colony that was "utterly

mined' by emancipation. How all this was lost to France by Napoleon's costly attempt to restore slavery, is of no further importance to our present purpose, than as it proves that the spirit of liberty, once aroused in black men, is no more temporay or evanescent than in white ones.

What is the lesson of this history? Is it not this? Negro slaves, ignorant, contented, jolly, cowardly, passive as they may be, can be educated to insurrec-tion in such a school as the two very different governments at Washington and Montgomery are now estab lishing, and probably will be.

Though both these governments should at first agree perfectly in ignoring the negro, and even join their forces to suppress "seditious movements" of slaves, one or the other will at last be obliged to recognize black men as a raw material of builtary power. Though the black material may be very raw, under profer guidance, it may soon be made very effective, on either side.

Had the French Commissioners, when they first landed in St. Domingo, instead of proclaiming their purpose to reduce the slaves to subjection, and keep them subject, made the procismation which they did one year after, they would have saved some ten thousand white and thirty thousand colored lives; they would have saved the capital city from conflagration, and their own consistency from shipwreck. It cost all that to sacrifice the principles of the Revolution in the mother country to a temperary supposed expediency in the colony.

Slave insurrections are easily put down for the time. but when they occur while the country is disturbed and xcited by war, they can never fail to increase the chance of success in a subsequent rising, by the expe rience which those who are sure to escape will have acquired. There was really but one regular slave insurrection in St. Dominge, and that was promptly supressed; but out of it grew at least four guerilla chiefs. and one accomplished military leader, whom Bona parte could conquer only by falsehood and perfidy.

Nobody who understands the world expects that the magnatimity, or sense of justice, or regard for the fundamental principles of Christianity, in the people who are now engaged in a life or death struggle to sustain the government of their choice-sentiments and principles that have not been strong enough in peace even o cause them to apply a file to the roughness of the negro's chain-will now, in time of war, impel them to apply the cold chisel. But if they will not have the nhood self-respect, "fansticism," or whatever els it may be, to gratify a sense of justice, and wipe off blot of inconsistency from the beloved institutions of the country, will they have the pure folly not to sacrifice a little prejudice of race and complexion, if at that cost they can effect a speedy and favorable solution of If we have not justice or philanthropy enough to de

spontaneously what France was obliged to do for St. Domingo, ought we not to have wit enough? Nations are saved, after all, only by their wits. The Yankee nation has saved itself from poverty by its wits. In its own geographical domain, it has wit enough not to work against the grain of nature, but with it. water, fire, foreigners-men, animals, vegetables, and ninerals-all free in their way, but all have to work for the Yankee. Yankees have tastes, loves, and ates-more, perhaps, than they can give good reasons ever heard of a live Yankee sawing his boards and grinding his corn by hand, because he thought the stream running by his door, coming out of pent-bog, too black to be beautiful ?

We are firm believers, as at present advised, in the intellectual and physical superiority of the white race " over the black, ethnologically speaking. But the great Spirit of the Universe, who delights in varieties, contrasts, parallel differences, rainbows, succession, wave after wave, and all that, is always stronger than any one "race," no matter how pert and proud of itself. When he is going to raise anything particularly high, he likes to begin mighty low. Witness in the old Roman slave-market stupid natives of Britain, hardly worth selling. His law for all races is, to bap-tize their infant greatness in insurrection. So he did our special Yankee race at Lexington and Bunker Hill. So he did the ebon brothers that for more that half a century have held the most toothsome island on the globe against the whole white "race," including the very Slave Power which has ruled us all that time, and against which we have only just rebelled. Is it not about time to expect a baptism of blood for the four millions of the same race on this centinent, when it has manifestly already cost the conversion of several milions of white men into devils, to hold them to the condition of brutes? If the blood must flow, why not

regulate the flow ? If the white race has not yet reached the summit-

level between its growth and its decay, it is because it will, in the main, as it has begun to do, place itself in line with the universe, in regard to God's favorite priniple of tolerating and encouraging variety in unity. But if the Yankee branch, in spite of its E pluribus unum professions, is going to persist in the old chopping-and-stretching-all-men-to-one-bedstead experiment, if it is bound not to recognize any manhood below the zero of the dye-house, it will soon pass into history as & sapless, dry, rotten limb, be blown off, and only those who may know the meaning of knots will know that it ever existed.

To recur to the lesson. Our Federal Government is situated, in regard to our present controversy, very much as France was in St. Domingo, represented by its civil commissioners. England is still more interested in our quarrel than she was in theirs, but in a position to make her play a very different role. She wants no slaves, but she wants cotton, and has no prejudice against color. Indeed, she is never better suit when she is surrounded by the largest possible propor-tion of free black folks. Suppose, with the utmost dignity and grandeur, we persist in the policy, which failed after the fairest trial under Sonthonax and Polverel, the policy of adhering with self-enerificing magnanimity to the Constitutional view of Sinvery, which has brought all the trouble on us, and disdaining to make any use of the negro, except to offer him up, when caught revolting, as a propiniatory sacrifice to the demon of Secession, till the united forces of Jeff. Davis's " white trash" in arms, Virginia sedge, yellow fever, hope deferred, and other natural causes, have worn off the edge of our enthusiasm, the soles of our shoes, and the seats of our trowsers, the pockets having become empty, what will prevent the English at that juncture from taking the quarrel off our hands, invading the Cotton States, and doing just what Southonax and Polverel did to drive them out of St. Domingo? They probably learned some wisdom in that affair. If they do it, and convert the Southern States into a Southern Canada we shall be at least no worse off than we have been-probably far better-and the Slave States will be infinitely better off. But is that the best thing which we Northern children of '76, and our regenerated Federal Government, rejoicing in the unanimous loyalty of nineteen of the thirty-four States can do?

Gentle reader, don't suppose me insensible to the intense whisper which has been, all this while, buzzing into my ears from a million voices-" Policy ! policy! policy! especially in war-don't, for goodness gracious sake, spoil the majesty of this unanimous Northern enthusiasm, or drive into open secession the ticklish Unionists of the Border States. All I have to reply is, " Spit the meal out of your mouths. In times that try men's souls, by pocrisy is not always particularly useful. If Gov. Magoffin and the witty Prentice are not Secessionists at heart, plain common sense won't hurt either of them."

Boston, No. 13 Avery street, May 22, 1961.

ACADEMY OF MUSIC.

BRISTOW'S PATRIOTIC CONCERT

In aid of the Volunteer Fund came off on Saturday

before a splendid audience, animated by a common impulse. The programme was equally patriotic as regards printing and pieces. The flag, with the Dix word of command, was emblazoned in colors. Twenty-two pieces, the most of them of a warlike national temper, gave many artists plenty to do in solos, choroses, and orchestral pieces, for some bours; and notwithstanding the number there were encores. The singers did not work mechanically. Lovely women-Madame Stoepel, Miss Brainerd, Miss Parker, Miss Hinkley-dressed with heart-rending taste, swelled their throats like mocking-birds on the Fourth-of-July, trying to imitate the distant notes of the bugle playing the St x-Spangled Banner-as was the custom with the Southern birds. Stalwart men like Brignoli and Susini, looking like two Italian heroes, declaimed so proudly in their native tongue respecting liberty and country, that the audience accepted it as so much English. Indeed, a little gunpowder would hardly have acted more to the flamboyant intensities of the occasion. The conjunctions musically speaking of the programme were striking even in their patriotism. had that arch-gem Yankee Doodle following a chorus from the fighting oratorio of Judas Maccabeus. But if we reflect that nine-tenths of the original lads who marched to that tune borrowed their names from Judea, the sequence in question is perhaps natural. (The original words of Yankee Doodie have puzzled learned critics as to their signification, and bence we would parenthetically remark that analyzed from high-art standard they are plain enough:

"Yankee Doodle came to town
Upon a little pony:
Stuck a feather in his bat.
And called it maccaroni."

The word "inscenses are N. E. Retrogective Review, vol. ix., page 32—but the key to it is simple. A pet kind of little Italian horse in the time of the Charleses was called maccaroni. Introduced loyally into Virginia, its name became known even in Massachusetts. When the gentleman aforesaid came to town, he played off his ommon pony as a maccaroni. The pronoun reads strictly as referring to "hat," but a poetical license takes it a line higher to "pony.")

Twenty-two pieces are too many to analyze, and we must content ourselves with a few notes thereon. The audience were much indebted to the chorus for their execution of some most excellent music; and to the various soloists; Messrs. Döhler, Wooster, Eben, and Mills, specially distinguished themselves. Miss Brainerd justly gleaned an encore for her admirable rendering f a cry "To arms," by W. F. Otten-which is published for the benefit of the Volunteer fund. Mise Hinckley did better than she has done in opera, in her orilliant execution of the great aris from Semiramilea test piece of vocalization. Miss Lizzie Parker sang Our country, right or wrong," with such earnests that it comes under the head of love of country independent of ethics, as well as capital artistic work. Any deficiency of devotion to the Stars and Stripes, even under doubtful or worse than doubtful conditions would be rectified by hearing the unqualified musical patriotism of Miss Parker. Mr. Bristow directed all these musical forces with

good taste and skill, and really the public is much bliged to him for an elegant entertainment designed for a noble purpose.

THE BAPTIST ANNIVERSARIES .- The annual meetings of the various societies connected with the Baptist denomination, take place in Brooklyn and this city during the eight days commencing yesterday, and con-cluding on Sunday, June 2. The programme for the

cluding on Sunday, June 2. The programme for the week is as follows:

American Baptiar Publication Society's annual sermon by the Rev. S. W. Swain, D. D., of Mass., at the Strong Piace Baptis Church (Rev. Dr. Taylor), Brooking, at 105 a.m., on Sunday, Rev. J. Hygt Smith, will preach at 4 p. m. The bastness meeting of the Society will take place at the same place on Monday morning, at 10 o'clock, when the manal reports will be presented. In the evening, addresses will be delivered by the Rev. Dr. Gilette of N. Y., Rev. J. B. Simmons of Ind., Dr. Brantly of Penn., and Dr. Barin Stow of Soctos.

The American Baptier Missionant Union meet at the Pierrepont street Church, (Rev. Mr. Holms) Brooklyn, on Tuesday and Wednesday. The annual sermon by the Rev. Dr. Phelps, of New-Haven. Ex-Gev. Briggs, of Mass., will preside.

CHILD RUS OVER AND KILLED.—Coroner Schirmer beld an inquest ye-terday, at No 145 East Thirty-sighth street, upon the body of Elizabeth Bunn, a child four years and signooths sid, who was run over on Esturday by a bay wagon driven by John Baylis, of Jamesce, L. I., and instantly killed. diven by John Baylis, of Jametes, L. I., and instant The child was playing in the avonue at the time, and unfu ty got under the wheels of the wagon before the dr aware of it. The jury deemed that no censure was alto to Baylis, and they reedered a variet of "accidental d

BADLY COT IN A FIGHT,-Late on Saturday night one Philip Carley was found lying on the sidewalk in Ettanboth street, near Spring, bleeding profusely from several severe cuts received during a fight with some persons to him unknown, Carley was conveyed to the New York Hospital by the Found teenth Ward police.

"Morens St. Mery.